

## Generals Testify at Senate Hearing on FY 2021 Defense Budget



*On 25 February 2020, Gen Tod D. Wolters, USAF, commander of US European Command and NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), and Gen Stephen R. Lyons, US Army, commander of US Transportation Command, testified at a Senate Armed Services Committee hearing on the defense authorization request for fiscal year 2021 and the Future Years Defense Program. The following is an edited and condensed transcript of their testimony, focusing primarily on General Wolters testimony. The video of the full testimony is available via DVIDS at <https://www.dvidshub.net/>.*

**General Wolters:** Chairman Inhofe, Ranking Member Reed, distinguished members of the committee, it's an honor to appear before you, and on behalf of the men, women, and families that represent USEUCOM, we thank each and every one of you for your steadfast support. As all of you well know, it's an absolute privilege to serve alongside the patriots that represent the United States of America. In Europe, political uncertainty, energy competition, and diffusion of disruptive technology are stressing the established Western order. Threats and challenges, most notably Russia, Iran, and China, seek to take advantage of these conditions through aggressive action using all instruments of national power and are backed by increasingly capable military forces. Fully aligned with the *National Defense Strategy* [NDS] implementation efforts, we confront these challenges by adapting our approach to most effectively employ our means.<sup>1</sup> Together with the like-minded allies and partners, our team of patriots defend freedom in all domains, across the area of responsibility, and around the clock. Thanks to their ef-

forts and the authorities and resources you provide, EUCOM continues to maintain positive momentum with respect to readiness and is postured to compete, deter, and effectively respond with the full weight of the transatlantic alliance. In 2019, NATO took significant military strides with improvements in command and control, indications and warnings, mission command, and by approving a new NATO military strategy titled *Comprehensive Defense and Shared Response*. NATO continues to adapt its force structure with the establishment of two additional NATO headquarters: Joint Forces Command Norfolk, which is focused on maintaining transatlantic lines of communications, and the German-led Joint Support Enabling Command, focused on rear-area logistics coordination. These headquarters increase our ability to command and control, enable deployment, and sustain NATO forces in crisis through conflict. The European Union, NATO, and EUCOM have made progress improving infrastructure and transit procedures to facilitate rapid movement of forces across the Euro-Atlantic. We will leverage many of these advancements to facilitate deployment of a division-size force as mentioned by the Chairman during the US-led exercise Defender Europe 20, an exercise that showcases US and allied commitment to collective security of the Euro-Atlantic. The United States' position in Europe is an invaluable cornerstone of national security. Today, US service members in Europe continue to generate peace alongside our allies and partners. We are grateful for sustained Congressional interest and support through authorities and funding. Together with the Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, and Marines, Coast Guardsmen, and civilians of USEUCOM, your support demonstrates our nation's continued commitment to defend the homeland forward and preserve peace for the one billion citizens in the Euro-Atlantic. Thank you.

**Senator Jim Inhofe (R-OK), chair:** As I mentioned, General Wolters, we appreciate the briefing that we got in Germany. And you covered something I think might be worth repeating here. In October 2019, the news report suggested that Russia deployed as many as 10 submarines for some of the largest fleet maneuvers since World War II. Can you describe, as you did this last week, how the pace and scope of Russia's maritime activity has changed in recent years and what implications that has for EUCOM?

**General Wolters:** Yes, Chairman. We took note of the Russian undersea activity in the summer, fall of 2018 and compared it to what Russia executed in the summer of '19, fall of '19, and what we saw was a 50-percent increase in the number of resources in the undersea that Russia committed to both those out-of-area submarine patrol operations. But, what we also witnessed was an improved degree of good-order discipline on behalf of the Russian sailors. So, this observation is

one more reflection about how important it is to continue to improve our competitive edge to buy down the risk to ensure that we can operate with freedom.

**Senator Inhofe:** Okay, that's good. And on that same trip, we went through Rota, Spain, when they were talking about adding the two US destroyers to the four that are already there. Is that something you support, and where does that fall into your level of request you have for additional forces in EUCOM?

**General Wolters:** Chairman, it's precisely in line with our request for two additional destroyers. And, what I'm also proud to report with the support of this committee through EDI, we've been in a position to where we've been able to improve and mature the infrastructure at Rota. If you ask me to accept two more destroyers tomorrow, we actually possess the infrastructure at Rota to be able to house those two additional destroyers—a reflection of the value of the funds for deterrence.

**Senator Jack Reed (D-RI), ranking member:** General Wolters, the European Command strategy document states meeting the challenge of countering Kremlin-sponsored malign influence campaign necessitates a whole-of-government solution. Do you assess currently that we have a synchronized campaign prosecuted in a unified manner to address malign influence particularly directed to the 2020 election?

**General Wolters:** Senator, I think our campaign momentum is improving in that area. As you're familiar with, we established two years ago the Russia integration group that bears the responsibility to represent USEUCOM with the United States and with many NATO nations to align a whole-of-nation, whole-of-government activity and activities below the level of actual kinetic conflict to ensure that we can have better control of the information domain. We're improving. I think we're to a point to where we expect to do better, and I think that's a good place for military leaders to be. I will tell you that I'm pleased with the campaign momentum. I've had the opportunity to visit with many of the US entities and national entities that represent whole-of-government and whole-of-nation activity to provide more influence in the information domain, and I'm pleased with the progress.

**Senator Reed:** Thank you. Can you just give me your assessment of the current state of alliance cohesion within NATO? And, I would assume that at a military level there's one sort of analysis and a political level another. Can you touch on both?

**General Wolters:** Senator Reed, the mil-to-mil alignment that I see with the United States and NATO with the North Atlantic extension through the Euro-Atlantic is strong as I've ever witnessed, and I've had the opportunity to serve in

NATO since 1983. And, I am pleased to report that at the political level, as a result of recent documents that were approved at NATO at the political level, we're seeing greater cohesion as well. For the first time in over six decades, we at NATO approved the first NATO military strategy. It's a document that's classified NATO Secret. It codifies the threat and codifies the activities that we need to embrace to more comprehensively defend, all 29 nations agreed to that NATO military strategy, and I think that's a reflection at the political level and the military level of improving cohesion.

**Senator Roger Wicker (R-MS):** Let me ask you, General Wolters, the proposed OMB Fiscal Year 2021 budget requests \$705.4 billion for DOD.<sup>2</sup> This represents three-tenths of one percent over the current fiscal year. In other words, the proposed budget buys us less resources than the current year, considering inflation. Am I correct there?

**General Wolters:** Yes, Senator.

**Senator Wicker:** And let me just ask you this, do we need less security resources in the European command next year than we do this year?

**General Wolters:** Senator, we need more.

**Senator Wicker:** And in addition to that, the Secretary of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the National Defense Strategy commission have all endorsed 3.5-percent real growth. Is that also your opinion, General Wolters?

**General Wolters:** Yes, Senator.

**Senator Wicker:** I appreciate the distinguished Chairman mentioning early on in his questioning Rota, Spain, and I'm glad that he and his team visited there, bipartisan delegation visited there just the other day. The DDGs [guided-missile destroyers] are the workhorse of the Navy. General Wolters, in European command, how does a mere three-tenths of one percent increase over the current fiscal year affect what we're gonna be able to do there with the DDGs? With the two extra DDGs?

**General Wolters:** Senator, every cent counts. Those two additional DDGs would allow us the opportunity to continue to improve our ability to get indications and warnings in the potential battle space and also dramatically improve our ability to better command and control. And because of the flexibility of those resources, they can comprehensively defend in all geographical areas in support of Europe. So, those destroyers are critical to improve the campaign to deliver peace, particularly in the areas of indications and warning and command and control.

**Senator Wicker:** Thank you, thank you for that. And we're gonna certainly try to help you up and down the dais here on a bipartisan basis on the resources to defend America and Americans. It's interesting that the leader of EUCOM would mention in the first few seconds of his statement not only Russia but China. And so, could you enlighten us about where you're seeing increased problems with China and increased influence in the European theater from China?

**General Wolters:** Senator, two areas. The first is seaport equities and the second is 5G Huawei.<sup>3</sup> And what we've seen in several critical nations on the periphery of Europe is an economic majority on behalf of China investment for seaports in critical nations like Belgium, Italy, France, and Greece. And that's a large concern to all of the NATO nations. And when you start to do the collective math you discover that China has access to 10 percent of the shipping rights into and out of Europe. Those are daunting figures that should lead one to believe that we need to continue to be vigilant with respect to seaport equities on the economic side. But, the second issue happens to be Huawei and 5G. I'm firmly aware of several European nations who have a tendency to lean toward Huawei and 5G. My concern goes back to the Soldiers. Without the appropriate network protection, there's a potential compromise of technical data and personal data, and that is not to the good order and discipline of our US Soldiers and our NATO Soldiers.

**Senator Wicker:** And finally, General Wolters, a number of us have been involved on a member to member basis with our parliamentary brothers and sisters in the OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe] parliamentary assembly. We have a great new ambassador to the OSCE, Amb. Jim Gilmore.<sup>4</sup> To what extent is the OSCE organization important to you and to providing you information that you need?

**General Wolters:** Very important, Senator, and I think it builds incredible trust for the Euro-Atlantic link. Your hearings that you held in Gdańsk [Poland] last year were a huge boost in trust, not only between the US and Poland but throughout all of NATO.

**Senator Richard Blumenthal (D-CT):** Many of my colleagues and I have received briefings as recently as this morning from other departments and agencies in the administration about the coordinated response to the coronavirus. I'm also concerned about the Department of Defense response to protect service members and family members that are stationed at military installations abroad. The rapid spread of this virus as well as the number of diagnoses and deaths in countries where Americans are stationed, a lot of Americans are stationed in, for example, South Korea, is very, very concerning. I'm focused on ensuring that the depart-

ment is reevaluating and updating procedures and actions necessary to keep our service members and their families safe. General Lyons, your command manages the intertheater movement of our service members in and out of areas that have been impacted by coronavirus, making you really uniquely positioned to address this issue. What action has your command taken to mitigate the spread of COVID-19 and ensure the wellbeing of our service members and their families? And do you need additional resources; is there more we can do to help you? And what more do you think should be done?

**General Lyons:** Senator, was it for me? I agree with your concern, and the Secretary of Defense has indicated that protection of the force is his number-one priority regarding the coronavirus. US Northern Command [USNORTHCOM] is the lead for the department, working very closely in support of Health and Human Services. We're connected with them on daily basis, frequent number of times a day. And so, we're watching this very, very closely for any implications on global mobility.

**Senator Blumenthal:** And what specific actions are you taking?

**General Lyons:** Inside the transportation enterprise, locations like Travis Air Force Base has become a receiver for potential folks coming out of the theater—particularly Indo-Pacific. We're not taking particular health-protection measures inside the command other than to protect the force. But in a more broad sense, we're in support of Health and Human Services and that's done through the lead of USNORTHCOM.

**Senator Blumenthal:** And General Wolters, do you feel you've been given the necessary resources and other tools to protect American service men and women and their families in Europe?

**General Wolters:** Yes, Senator. And, we've also been given the appropriate authorities. As we speak, in Europe today, we have over 300, cases and the nation that is most concern is Italy, with six reported deaths. We've restricted travel to certain zones, and we require all mil air arrival flights to be screened for the virus.

**Senator Blumenthal:** Are you taking any additional steps to constrain travel by service men and women or their families on their leave and so forth?

**General Wolters:** We have in what we feel are the affected areas, in particular two states inside of Italy.

**Senator Blumenthal:** And do you have plans to restrict travel to any other states?

**General Wolters:** We anticipate the need may arise in Germany, but that is still to be determined.

**Senator Blumenthal:** General Wolters, in your posture statement, you highlight American service members' on the ground in the [Joint Multinational Training Group-Ukraine] work.<sup>5</sup> And, you note they serve shoulder to shoulder with Ukrainian forces. Can you expand on the important efforts to deter Russian aggression there?

**General Wolters:** Yes, Senator. The joint military training group initiated military training team activity on a rotational basis starting in 2016. And, they also began about six months later to rotate military training teams in the special operations category. There are several phases of the long-range plan, and here we are three and a half years later in work to phase three, which puts those military training teams that represent the Joint Military Training Group. Canada and UK are the participants. Those teams are now in observer status because of the demonstrated expertise of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and the conventional force in the SOF side of the house. We're very pleased with the progress of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, and the stronger that they are, and the more that they embrace democratic values, the greater the alignment with the West, which is exactly where we need to hit.

**Senator Deb Fischer (R-NE):** General Wolters, how would you assess the progress that's been made in implementing the *NDS* and its emphasis on prioritizing strategic competition with Russia?

**General Wolters:** Senator, I'm very pleased. As I mentioned earlier on one of the questions from your colleagues, for the first time in many decades, we approved a NATO military strategy, and it looks very similar to the United States *National Defense Strategy*, and I believe this is one area that reflects the powerful alignment and a willingness on behalf of NATO to lean forward with respect to what we do across the full spectrum from competition to crisis to conflict, which is exactly what we call for in the *NDS*. So, I'm pleased with the ever-improving alignment in NATO and with our European nations.

**Senator Fischer:** What do you think is the biggest challenge that you have in fulfilling the goals of the *NDS* in Europe?

**General Wolters:** It is to do all we can to cure the malign influence on behalf of Russia. And, that requires a more concentrated effort in the competition phase of embracing a potential foe. And, what we've heard throughout many of the questions today are the activities that we have to embrace in twenty-first-century military, below the actual activities of kinetic conflict, and understanding what we

are doing and what the return on investment is, and we're making rapid improvement in those areas.

**Senator Fischer:** So, in order to improve, basically you'd need to work together more in your training?

**General Wolters:** Yes, ma'am.

**Senator Fischer:** Do you feel that you've come together or are coming together with other NATO partners in facing what the threats are?

**General Wolters:** We are, and a reflection of that is the approval of a NATO military strategy that actually codifies those threat and agreement on behalf of the 29 nations to identify those threats.

**Senator Fischer:** Now you and I yesterday, we discussed the growing recognition that there is [agreement] among the NATO partners on the important role of our nuclear deterrence in keeping the peace. Obviously, we all understand that our deterrent, the triad, is the bedrock of the security of this country. Can you tell us a little bit about what you are hearing from our NATO partners when it comes to the deterrent in private conversations, if you can share that, but also in public the support that you see?

**General Wolters:** Senator, there's a greater degree of awareness of the importance of deterrence, and as we look at the success that NATO has had for the last seven decades to deliver peace, one of the elements has to be the triad that exists from the United States and its representation to nuclear deterrence on the European continent. It has been very, very effective, and the nations understand more and more about that with each passing day as a result of embracing deterrence to a greater degree than we have in the past.

**Senator Fischer:** Would you say that our partners, in their embracing of this deterrence, are also becoming better messengers within their own countries about the importance of not just a strong NATO but of having that strong nuclear deterrence, that umbrella that is so vital in their freedom as well?

**General Wolters:** Absolutely, Senator. It has to do with the responsibility that we feel in NATO to generate peace—not just inside of the boundaries of Europe but on the periphery. And, as we embrace missions for NATO Mission Iraq and as we embrace Operation Resolute Support in Afghanistan we see how important it is to proliferate deterrence to the max extent practical to achieve greater peace.

**Senator Fischer:** And what are your views, sir, on adopting a so-called “no first use” policy? Do you believe that that would strengthen deterrence?

**General Wolters:** Senator, I'm a fan of flexible first use policy.

**Senator Fischer:** And, do you believe developing ground-launched conventionally armed intermediate-range weapons will enhance your ability to deter Russia?

**General Wolters:** It will. It dramatically complicates an enemy's task.

**Senator Tim Kaine (D-VA):** General Wolters, I want to ask you a question. In your testimony, I think it was maybe in a back-and-forth with Senator Reed, you talked a little bit about increased Russian sub activity in the Atlantic. The president's budget proposes to cut the *Virginia*-class sub program 50 percent by only funding one of the two in the block buy. And, on February 13, the DOD used its general transfer authority to move \$3.8 billion of Pentagon money to the general drug account for use on the southern border, and part of those funds that were moved was a reduction of \$180 million from the P-8 Poseidon aircraft program. As you know, that airplane's a modified Boeing 737 that's used as a sub hunter. It usually operates from Iceland or elsewhere in Europe to work with the fast-attack subs like the *Virginia*-class to track Russian sub activity coming from the Greenland, Iceland, UK gap. Without commenting on the budget, I would like you to talk about the importance of both the *Virginia*-class sub and the P-8 Poseidon in countering Russian sub activity.

**General Wolters:** Senator, they're vital capabilities, and what they contribute to overall maritime patrol activity has proven over time to be very, very successful. We're lucky to be part of NATO. We lean on our brothers and sisters from a national perspective to ask them to take a look at the resources they can contribute when we are in situations with respect to some decrements in the maritime patrol area. Norway has been a great contributor on the P-8 side of the house, and we see the effectiveness of that system. They are vital resources and very much needed to improve our overall deterrence posture.

**Senator Kaine:** Both of those platforms, the *Virginia*-class and then the P-8 Poseidon?

**General Wolters:** Yes, Senator.

**Senator Tom Cotton (R-AR):** General Wolters, let's talk a little bit more about coronavirus and its impact in the European theater. I'm reading here from a *Stars and Stripes* report on Sunday saying that at Vicenza [Italy] there had been a temporary closing—Monday through Wednesday, all dependent schools, activity centers, fitness centers, theaters, and chapels. Is that report accurate?

**General Wolters:** Yes, Senator.

**Senator Cotton:** Are there any updates from that report on Sunday in *Stars and Stripes*?

**General Wolters:** Those facilities remain closed, and travel to the two states are still prohibited in Italy.

**Senator Cotton:** Okay. Do you expect that those facilities in the Vicenza community will reopen on Thursday as initially planned, or do you think that closure might have to be extended?

**General Wolters:** Senator, I'd give it about a 50–50 right now about potentially extending the closure.

**Senator Cotton:** How many US troops do we have at Vicenza, roughly speaking?

**General Wolters:** Sir, we've got about six or 7,000.

**Senator Cotton:** How many of those have accompanied spouses or children?

**General Wolters:** 70 to 80 percent.

**Senator Cotton:** So, maybe about 4,000 to 4,500 husbands and wives and then some larger number of children probably?

**General Wolters:** Absolutely, and over 35,000 US military members in Italy.

**Senator Cotton:** And they're all mostly just sitting at home right now trying to avoid the coronavirus?

**General Wolters:** Not mostly, but there's a fair amount, yes, sir.

**Senator Cotton:** Coronavirus has been present in Germany as well. In fact, that was one of the first European nations in which it appeared. It hasn't appeared in the numbers yet that have exploded in Italy in the last few days. First off, has there been any such closures at our military bases in Germany?

**General Wolters:** Not yet, Senator, but we're anticipating an increase in the number of cases reported in Germany, and we're prepared to execute.

**Senator Cotton:** Troubling situation. Let's move to another troubling situation, which you've spoken about briefly as well: Huawei, the Chinese telecom company. You state in your written testimony that 5G networks by Huawei will place intellectual property, sensitive technology, and private personal information at heightened risk of acquisition and exploitation by the Chinese government. You further say that this ongoing initiative, coupled with China's growing interest and investment in European ports and infrastructure, complicates steady-state and contin-

gency operations. It sounds like you consider the use of Huawei and 5G networks in Europe to be a threat to our national security. Is that correct?

**General Wolters:** Certainly a threat to the Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, and Marines.

**Senator Cotton:** My next question is, it a threat to the troops that you lead?

**General Wolters:** Affirm, Senator.

**Senator Cotton:** Unfortunately, some European nations are moving forward with Huawei technology and their networks, most notably our NATO allies the United Kingdom and Germany. What are we to do about that, and how can we guarantee the security of our troopers as well as our NATO command-and-control systems?

**General Wolters:** Senator Cotton, it's vigilance, education, and going back to the basics with respect to network protection of the critical data on the technical side of the house and the personal side of the house for our Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, and Marines—not just in the US but all of our NATO forces.

**Senator Cotton:** Do your military counterparts understand the threat that Huawei poses?

**General Wolters:** Yes, Senator.

**Senator Cotton:** So, the problem may be at the political leadership level. Statement not a question. Finally, I want to conclude on a somewhat related matter. We discussed this yesterday in our meeting. I want to bring your attention, bring everyone's attention to an alarming poll by the Pew Research Center among 16 NATO countries.<sup>6</sup> Happily, it shows that NATO's favorability ratings are pretty strong, two to one, in fact, 53 to 27 of the peoples of these 16 countries have a favorable impression of NATO. Not surprisingly, NATO scored pretty low in Russia. Somewhat disappointingly, though, when asked who should fight Russia if there were a conflict between a NATO ally and Russia, only 38 percent of peoples in these nations said my nation should fight Russia. Whereas 50 percent said the United States should fight Russia. And, in some of the biggest NATO allies, it was even more alarming. Italy 25 percent said we'll fight them, 75 percent you Americans go fight. In Germany, it was 34, 63 so that's a little better, I guess, but not too much. General Wolters, can Europeans expect Americans to care more about their security and their kids than they care about their security?

**General Wolters:** Senator, my consultations at the mil-to-mil level with chiefs of defense and ministers of defense, I see a very, very eager desire and willingness to fight the Russians. And those nations that I continually communicate with show that desire if required to protect themselves.

**Senator Cotton:** And I hear the same thing when I consult with European defense leaders, not surprisingly. These are men and women who have dedicated themselves, dedicated their lives, to the service of their country and the defense of their country. So, it's really a political problem at the level of political leadership in Europe, both in the leaders and the leadership that they show to their peoples, to demonstrate that they have to be willing to fight as hard for their future and their security as they expect Americans to fight for them. Thank you.

**Senator Gary Peters (D-MI):** General Wolters, I'd like to focus on the Baltics. In 2017, I visited Latvia and Lithuania to observe the US Army's Europe Operation Saber Strike exercise. The Michigan National Guard regularly participates in this exercise as Latvia's counterpart in the National Guard State Partnership Program, as you know. Similarly, Latvian forces participate in the Michigan National Guard's annual Northern Strike exercise, which is a joint multinational exercise hosted at Camp Grayling in Michigan. The Latvian military particularly benefits from this training in Michigan, because it offers them an opportunity for them to certify as JTACs [Joint Terminal Attack Controller], and as a result of this program, Latvia is one of only eight allied countries that are certified to call in United States close air support in combat. And part of the reason the Michigan National Guard and the Latvian military have a strong relationship is because the Latvian military is built around integrating reserve and their regular forces as a major component of their national defense strategy. So, my question to you, sir, is could you discuss how EUCOM tailors its training and partner strategies to support the Baltic States' reliance on these reserve forces and specifically the state partnership with our National Guard and how integral that is to all of this?

**General Wolters:** Senator, I can. First of all, for the Baltics writ large, the insertion of the four battalion-sized battle groups into Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland in the summer of 2016 has dramatically improved our all-domain security awareness. And in particular, as you well know, with the participation of your Michigan Air National Guardsmen, who have been very, very integral in the air-land integration piece, the lead nation in Latvia at that battalion-size battle group happens to be Canada. And we have many force elements that are intermixed amongst the other nations. The overall improvement day in and day out of those battle groups to be able to see the battlespace and defend their sovereign territory is palpable. And they're doing so in all domains and all functions. And our next step is to make sure that those battalion-sized battle groups that represent generating peace in the Baltics are aware of all the activities in the southeastern sector of Europe as well as the western portion of Europe. So, we're very, very pleased

with the continued transparency and alignment and very, very pleased with the air-land integration that we've seen improving in Latvia for the last two years.



(US National Guard photo by 1Lt Andrew Layton)

**Figure 1. Michigan National Guard affirms partnership during Latvia's 101st Independence Day celebration.** Military vehicles from NATO partner countries participate in Latvia's 101st Independence Day parade, 18 November 2019, in Riga, Latvia. Michigan and Latvia have been linked under the US National Guard Bureau's State Partnership Program since 1993.

**Senator Peters:** Well, thank you. My next question is related to the development of the Next-Generation Combat Vehicle, which is now taking place in Michigan with a cross-functional team. The first platform was intended to replace the Bradley Fighting Vehicle, but the Army has just recently restarted that program and much of the debate has basically focused on the trade-off between armor and mobility and specifically how readily the vehicle can be positioned in a crisis zone. However, in the European theater, the size and weight of the vehicle could be equally problematic for its maneuverability through European terrain and civilian infrastructure, particularly the bridges there. General Wolters, you seem to address this issue in your written statement where you mention the EU in consultation with NATO is investing six and a half billion Euros in the improvement of civilian and military dual use. However, I'm concerned that this approach may not address

the core issue that I just mentioned. But, my question to you is, what is more realistic, should the next generation of combat vehicles be built to accommodate European infrastructure limits, particularly in Poland and the Baltics, or is the solution to reinforce transportation infrastructure throughout Eastern Europe?

**General Wolters:** Senator, I hate to give you this answer, but I think it's a little bit of both—and I know that General [James] McConville, leading our United States Army, has his experts taking a peak at that. And, I know that he stepped up even one more level. It gets into a discussion about armor versus mobility, and I think from a global perspective there are some trade-offs and from a regional perspective there are some trade-offs, and it all has to do with a demonstrated capability of the nations in Europe as well as other regions. So, I know that we're taking a very, very serious look at that.

**Senator Peters:** My follow-up question is how do our Western European allies, who also produce heavy military equipment, how do they accommodate limitations of civilian infrastructure, particularly in Poland and the Baltics?

**General Wolters:** A greater degree of education on the challenges that we face from a bridging perspective in Eastern Europe versus Western Europe. And, it was an issue that all of Europe was very, very aware of in the mid-80s, and they are getting themselves reacquainted with it today and they understand the imperative of making sure that we have bridging programs in the regions in the northeast and the southeast of Europe to ensure that we can shoot, move, and communicate fast.

**Senator Joni Ernst (R-IA):** General Wolters, I'm gonna pick up where my colleague Senator Peters left off. He was talking about the State Partnership Program that his Michigan National Guard has with those Baltic State members. Well, Iowa, our National Guard has a partnership with Kosovo, and I'm just always very excited about that and have relationships that I've carried on for about the decade of time that the Iowa Army National Guard has been involved with those partners. So, as the only force that both the Kosovars and Serbians trust, how can KFOR [Kosovo Force] best posture itself to ensure that there is enduring stability between the two sides, Kosovo and Serbia?

**General Wolters:** Thanks, Senator, and I can't thank you enough for the contributions of your state to Kosovo.

**Senator Ernst:** Thank you.

**General Wolters:** And as we sit today, KFOR is very, very active and engaged, more so than they were one year ago, as a result of the continued involvement of

US operations activities and investments in Kosovo and Serbia as well as the NATO investments of operations activities. We typically rotate in NATO military training teams, but when they land at those locations, to be able to have a soft landing with the force element from your National Guard State Partnership Program affords us the opportunity to reintegrate at a much faster pace. We're very, very concerned about the security disposition in the Balkans. We're very, very pleased with the efforts of KFOR, and KFOR is far more capable today as a result of learning from the experiences of the State Partnership Program like yours as they reveal themselves in Kosovo.

**Senator Ernst:** Great, thank you. And obviously a number of us here do support those state partnership programs. And what is NATO's role for peacekeeping as the KSF [Kosovo Security Force] transitions into a full army? Will it be able to guarantee Kosovo's territorial integrity? Do you see that in their future?



(US Air National Guard photo by TSgt Michael McGhee)

**Figure 2. Iowa National Guard hosts Humvee maintenance course for international partners.** The Iowa National Guard, in conjunction with the National Guard Sustainment Training Center located at Camp Dodge Joint Maneuver Training Center hosts soldiers from several Balkan countries during a weeklong Humvee maintenance management course. Members of the Kosovo Security Force review the Humvee maintenance handbook during a maintenance check.

**General Wolters:** That is certainly the goal, Senator. And, again, it's by, with, and through in a very, very tough neighborhood, and as you probably know better than I, there are some very, very, very, very serious tendencies that exist between Serbia and Kosovo that we're seeing improve over the course of the last several weeks. Amb. [Richard] Grenell has been very, very aggressive in getting those security apparati to communicate with each other, so we hope for continued good news in that area with respect to the Serbia–Kosovo relationship, with respect to taxation.<sup>7</sup>

**Senator Ernst:** Absolutely, and I think that here is undue pressure obviously coming from Russia in that region as well.

**Senator Doug Jones (D-AL):** General Wolters, we've taken the first steps to begin the Defender Europe 20 military exercise, the largest of its kind in 25 years. I think there are 18 countries participating across 10 countries. So, what are the biggest challenges you see in executing the Defender 20 program, and what are the key takeaways you hope to see coming out of the exercise?

**General Wolters:** Senator, on the logistics side of the house, the environment in Europe has to be mature enough to be able to absorb 20,000 Soldiers and get those Soldiers to the right pre-positioned locations to be able to grab the appropriate gear that they're supposed to get and get to their foxhole and be able to execute. And, what we want to do is count every second that it takes to get the Soldier from the first point of entry all the way to his or her foxhole to be successful to adequately defend. And, we anticipate that there will be some snags. I want to applaud this committee on the fact that two years ago we couldn't exercise Defender Europe 20. We weren't mature enough with respect to the pre-position stockpiles to have Soldiers show up at location X and be able to grab resources. Today, we can do that. We know the fitness of the resources and now we'll be able to examine their speed with which they can get to the foxhole and be able to execute.

**Senator Jones:** Great. Is Turkey participating?

**General Wolters:** Senator, they are, as observers. And they are in certain areas with respect to activity on the periphery of Georgia.

**Senator Jones:** Just a follow-up real quick. What, if any, response or reaction are you seeing from Russia or do you expect from the Russians? Or any of our other adversaries?

**General Wolters:** Senator, we've seen a fair amount of response from Russia. They're not overly pleased with Defender Europe 20. We're concerned mostly about the readiness of our forces. And, we're doing all of that in accordance with international law in sovereign space and sovereign seas and sovereign land.

**Senator Thom Tillis (R-NC):** General Wolters, tell me a little bit about how well your area of responsibility partners are closing the gap on their cyber capabilities, how well we're actually coordinating, and your assessment of our, if you take a look at Russia, they're all over the place. Any time I travel to that part of the world, you're talking about Russian information campaigns and their malign activities. So, give me some hope on how we're either creating a gap or filling holes we have right now.

**General Wolters:** Senator, we're improving our strategic transparency and alignment in the cyber domain. I would say that over the course of the last two years, the NATO nations have done a much better job of understanding the challenges that they face on the defensive side of the house from a hygiene perspective. And once they've got their backyard in order; now they're in a position to understand where they start with respect to network protection. And that truly has come about as a result of our USCYBERCOM's willingness to lead from the front.

**Senator Tillis:** And actually as you move into that answer, I'd also like for you to talk about Huawei, ZTE,<sup>8</sup> and whether or not we've gotten to a good place where clearly they're gonna allow that infrastructure to be present but in terms of critical infrastructure, are we getting to a good place?

**General Wolters:** Senator, that's a great point, and that's exactly where I was headed. The hygiene piece, the defensive cyber piece, has to be applied with respect to what is about to become an issue in Europe with respect to proliferation of 5G activity and Huawei. Network protection is going to be job one. So, we're right back to the basics. And as you well know from your time with General [Paul] Nakasone [commander, USCYBERCOM], he's keen on that, and we've seen a marked improvement in the manning for defensive cyber ops on the US side in Europe. And we've seen an increase in manning on the defensive cyber-op side of the house for the NATO nations in Europe.

**Senator Angus King (I-ME):** General Wolters, quick question. Do we have sufficient visibility of Russian submarines in the Atlantic? Do we know where they are?

**General Wolters:** We do, but not 100 percent of the time.

**Senator King:** I don't want whatever the missing percent is to be off the coast of Maine.

**General Wolters:** I agree, Senator.

**Senator King:** Or New York.

**General Wolters:** Absolutely.

**Senator King:** Not to be too parochial about it. What's the risk of a, I think it's unlikely, I hope I'm right, that Russian tanks are gonna roll across the border into the Baltics. But what is our thinking and strategic thinking about a hybrid kind of activity involving Russian language, a kind of Crimea model? Is that a concern, and do we have a strategic response?

**General Wolters:** It is very much a concern, Senator. And it has to do with the posture of our forces as we sit today in competition and attempt to effectively deter. And, we are improving in our ability to do so. And, we have to do so to a point to where we compel any potential enemy of ours to not take those first steps against us. And, NATO agreed in the NATO military strategy to also recognize a whole-of-government, whole-of-nation approach that will allow us to dramatically improve our posture so that we can better see the battlespace from an indications and warnings standpoint and better be able to more proactively deploy to defend.

**Senator King:** And be prepared for a different kind, not a traditional tanks rolling over the border invasion.

**General Wolters:** Absolutely.

**Senator King:** I think we should, and I'm sure we are, a lot of study on Crimea and how that played out and what the response could have been or might have been.

**General Wolters:** Yes, Senator.

**Senator King:** Final question, the attacks on the Saudi tanker field and also the Iranian missile in Iraq after [Iranian general Qasem] Soleimani's death to me raise concerns about our ability to defend against, I don't know what you want to call them, cruise missiles, low-level missiles, intermediate-range, and I believe the Iranian missile was an ICBM. What is our capability to defend against those kinds of attacks? Because it didn't work in Iraq, and it didn't work in Saudi Arabia.

**General Wolters:** Senator, it's improving, but it has to get better. And we have a plan that refers to integrated air missile defense that comprehensively takes into account what happens at long ranges and long altitudes and short ranges and lower altitudes. And it all has to be nested together from an indications and [monitoring] standpoint and a command-and-control standpoint.

**Senator King:** You would agree that this is a significant gap in our defense that we really need to get to work on in a hurry?

**General Wolters:** It's a shortfall, Senator, and we need to continue to work on it.

**Senator Rick Scott (R-FL):** With the European or NATO members that are now spending the money they were supposed to spend in the past, does it give us

any opportunity to reduce our funding or does it give us any opportunity to reduce our troop deployment in Europe?

**General Wolters:** Senator, it could in the future.

**Senator Scott:** And does it concern you that countries like Germany still don't want to pay their fair share? And does it impact our ability to defend? Does it give us a need to start thinking about where we should have troops and where we shouldn't have troops? Should we be in Poland more than we should be in Germany?

**General Wolters:** Senator, I believe all of those are of concern. In my mil-to-mil consultations with my German counterparts, they are just as concerned about meeting the two percent as we are.

**Senator Scott:** But there's no action that we need to be taking?

**General Wolters:** I think the vigilance that we continue to show with respect to requirements colocated with defense spending needs to continue today. What we've observed between FY 16 and FY 20 is an actual increase across NATO of an additional \$130 billion of funds for defense. That's positive and we need to continue on that track.

**Senator Scott:** With Turkey buying the S-400<sup>9</sup> and it seems like cozying up to Moscow, does it impact your ability to rely on them as a partner?

**General Wolters:** Senator, it hasn't to this point. Turkey remains a very reliable NATO ally.

**Senator Scott:** And with Huawei, have you had to make changes on the types of information you're willing to share as a result of knowing that these countries are gonna continue to use Huawei in 5G but also even in their existing infrastructure?

**General Wolters:** Senator, we haven't at this point, because of the current posture with respect to 5G and Huawei and in particular UK, but my guess would be in the near future we have to be more vigilant with respect to network protection and Huawei and 5G.

**Senator Scott:** The investment that communist China is making in Europe and all around the world, is that impacting our ability to be a good, not just the United States but other members, to be able to defend against Russian invasion, but even what China's doing?

**General Wolters:** Senator, not an impact today but it could be in the future if we continue to see that economic equity increase with respect to seaports on behalf of China in Europe.

**Senator Scott:** And for them it's mostly the seaports that's impacting in Europe?

**General Wolters:** Today, that's the biggest issue, Senator.

**Senator Scott:** How about the supply chains? How dependent the world is on China as a member of the supply chain, does that cause you any concern?

**General Wolters:** It does cause a concern, Senator. I haven't seen those reflections yet in Europe but I anticipate that we could.

**Senator Dan Sullivan (R-AK):** General Wolters, let me mention. I appreciated your reference on Arctic issues in your testimony, even though that's not necessarily Alaska. We're kind of in the seams, right. We got [USINDO]PACOM forces, we got the threat from Russia, we got STRATCOM, we got TRANSCOM, NORTHCOM, everybody. Let me just mention, this committee has been very focused on Arctic issues; the Chairman mentions great-power competition. There's been an important Arctic focus. The problem is the Pentagon has been pretty slow to address some of these challenges and recognize it. We have two icebreakers right now. One is broken. That's the American capability. Russia has 54. This article, for the record, they just recently announced they have a nuclear icebreaker and a Russian shipyard launches a cruise missile-capable icebreaker. Can you talk to the challenges of the Arctic with regard to Russia and how you're addressing it?

**General Wolters:** Senator, it is of great concern. And, as we crafted the NATO military strategy—its title is *Comprehensive Defense and Shared Response*—and one of the realizations was the fact that we need to be as focused in the Arctic as we are in the Baltics, as we are in the Black Sea, as we are in the Mediterranean, as we are in the central portion of the Atlantic. The Arctic needs to ensure that it gets the appropriate scrutiny and the appropriate resources. We're excited about the fact of NORTHCOM serving as the executive agent for capability development in the Arctic. We're also pleased that in the summer of '19, DOD delivered their Arctic strategy. And I know you drove that, Senator, and we appreciate that. It's vital. We see a lot of activity on behalf of Russia in the Arctic. And, we also see activity on behalf of China in the Arctic, and we think most of that has to do with money and commercial fishing activity. So, it is of great concern. And security exists on the periphery in Europe and the Arctic is a big reason why we have to make sure that we maintain our vigilance.

**Senator Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH):** I want to begin, General Wolters, with a continuation of the discussion we had yesterday. And I appreciated your taking time to meet with me. Earlier this month, the president informed Congress that he was

going to divert another \$3.8 billion from the Pentagon toward the border wall. This is on top of the \$3.6 billion that he took from military construction [MILCON] projects last year. These reprograms would eliminate, among other things, the military weapons systems. I know Senator Kaine referred to one of those. That includes eight MQ-9 Reapers, which are an ISR [intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance] asset. And, my recollection of previous conversations is that ISR assets are at a premium within the European theater and other areas. So, can you discuss how the elimination of these weapon systems and MILCON projects are gonna affect your campaign momentum?

**General Wolters:** I'd like to address the fact that we had 44 projects that were MILCON related that were deferred because we couldn't get those projects on contract by September of '19. And the total value of the 44 projects was approximately \$1.3 billion. And they came in two buckets. One was a set of projects, 25, that were European Deterrence Initiative MILCON projects. The other projects were baseline MILCON '19. The EDI MILCON was about \$771 million and the MILCON base was about \$550 million. And, when you take a look at all 44 of those deferred projects, which we hope will reappear one day, what you see is three major areas of reduction of campaign momentum. The first has to do with advanced airfield infrastructure on some of the NATO airfields in the farther eastern side of Europe. The second has to do with the infrastructure that supports pre-positioned stockpiles for fuel and for ammunition. And, the final area of impact for campaign momentum is the modernization of infrastructure that supports a couple of military headquarters and schools. All those are important to campaign momentum. It slows the campaign momentum. Despite all of that, Senator, we still maintain positive campaign momentum in the critical areas of indications and warnings, as you alluded to ISR, command and control, and mission command. It just slows down the progress.

**Senator Shaheen:** So, as you read the *National Defense Strategy*, what's a bigger threat to our national security, is it a threat from Russia and China and the great-power competition or is it a threat from immigrants coming across our southern border?

**General Wolters:** Senator, both are threats. As the commander of USEUCOM, I will tell you that I am most concerned about.

**Senator Shaheen:** That was a very diplomatic answer, and thank you. I'm sorry, I should not have put you in that position, but I think it's an important point to make. The threat you're dealing with is one that has significant implications for our future when we look at Russian aggression and its potential to impact the

United States. . . . General Wolters, I want to go back to NATO because with Senator Tillis, he and I chair the Senate NATO observer group, which is an effort to try and make sure that the Senate is aware of what's happening with NATO and what we need to do. I wonder if you can give us an update on the new Cyber-space Operations Centre that NATO is planning to be fully functional by 2023?

**General Wolters:** We're very pleased, Senator. As you know, it all originated in Estonia. And, it started with the involvement of the US and the declaration by the United States USCYBERCOM to have one US single military commander responsible in the military for the domain of cyber. And, the Europeans have embraced that. Were excited about the future. And NATO headquarters on the political side is also very excited.

**Senator Josh Hawley (R-MO):** General Wolters, let's talk a little bit, if we could, about the European Deterrence Initiative [EDI]. I assume you would characterize this as a success. Is that fair to say?

**General Wolters:** Yes, Senator, I would.

**Senator Hawley:** Can you give us some specific examples of things that EUCOM would not have been able to do without EDI?

**General Wolters:** Senator, the first largest example is we have started Defender Europe 20, an exercise that brings over a division-size force. We couldn't do that a year ago; we couldn't do it two years ago. We can do this exercise as a result of the benefit of EDI funds.

**Senator Hawley:** Why would EUCOM have struggled to do some of these things without EDI? What specific obstacles has EDI helped you overcome?

**General Wolters:** First of all, it's funded the rotational brigade combat teams that go to Poland. And, that teaches all of our Soldiers, Sailors, Airmen, and Marines how to lift and shift larger quantities of forces across the Atlantic and do so without any harm. And that in itself is very important. We've also, through EDI, been able to fund our Army pre-position stockpiles, our emergency contingency air operation sets for the Air Force, and our deployable air-based systems for the Air Force. We've also been able to dramatically improve the airfield infrastructure and the reception infrastructure in the eastern part of Europe to where it is equipped today to safely receive those resources and effectively get those resources where they need to go for our Soldiers and Sailors and Airmen and Coastguardsmen and Marines to be effective.

**Senator Hawley:** That's an impressive record of success, and that's one of the reasons, I think, that we need something similar in other theaters, [INDO]PACOM in particular, as I've long advocated before. General, staying with you, Whiteman Air Force Base, my home state of Missouri, of course is proud home of the B-2 and the proud future home of the B-21. Can you just speak to the role that you see the B-2 and one day the B-21 playing in deterring Russia from using nuclear weapons as part of any attempted fait accompli in the Baltics?

**General Wolters:** Senator, those airframes are part of the critical triad, and I'm firmly convinced that the nuclear deterrence umbrella that sits over Europe is part of the great success that we've had for the last seven decades in NATO to be able to generate peace. And, I'm excited about the future of the B-21, because I think it will do more of the same with even a greater impact.

**Senator Hawley:** Very good. Let me shift to China for a moment, if I could. In your written testimony, General Wolters, you said that China's efforts to build 5G networks in Europe—coupled with its growing interest and investment European ports and infrastructure—complicates steady-state and contingency operations. Can you just say more about that? How specifically do these Chinese activities complicate steady-state and contingency operations?

**General Wolters:** The equities that they have on the shipping capacity inside and outside of Europe, it is very alarming. And, when you control the ability to take in and regulate resources, you have a large impact on what actually exists on the continent with respect to its ability to effectively generate peace and security. That's the concern.

**Senator Hawley:** How do our European allies respond when you raise these concerns with them, as I'm sure you do?

**General Wolters:** With vigilance. In some cases, they're surprised to the degree of equities that China has with respect to seaports. But in most cases, very concerned, and vigilance increases once we get past the education stage.

**Senator Hawley:** You also wrote that you're seeing encouraging signs, those are your words, from European nations as they become increasingly weary to the strings attached to Chinese capital and investment. Can you give us a sense of what those encouraging signs are?

**General Wolters:** Several nations not willing to accept 5G, Huawei. And, we've had reports of that in other nations being a lot more stingy and scratchy with respect to their willingness to engage in deliberations on port equities.

**Senator Hawley:** Let me ask you for a second about our ally's contribution to NATO, which is something that has come up, rightly so, a number of times already this morning. I think that the progress toward the two percent mark is very important but only just a first step. Because the division of labor within NATO has to fundamentally change, I think as this committee has been saying now for some time. What is your assessment about what would need to happen for our European allies to get to the point where they are able to assume primary responsibility for their security in your theater?

**General Wolters:** Senator, I think we need to continue on the current campaign that we're on. As you know, from 2016 to 2020, in the cash portion of contributions for burden sharing, we've had a net increase of \$130 billion. There's also the examination of contributions and capabilities. And in NATO, we've been very, very vigilant with respect to our focus on improving our readiness, the ability of force elements to be more resilient, more responsive, and more lethal. That is all part of the equation with respect to European contributions to adequately defend, and we're improving.

**Senator Tammy Duckworth (D-IL):** General Wolters, I'd like to bring into the discussion, we've been hearing a lot about Defender Europe and what we hope to learn from this exercise. I'm looking forward to hearing about not only the successes but perhaps more importantly the challenges that the exercise helps identify as well. How would you classify your level of concern going into Defender Europe—whether from an overall capacity standpoint, from a lack of previous exercise familiarity, or due to other factors inside and outside our control? And how are you gonna leverage that into lessons learned going forward?

**General Wolters:** Senator, great question. And I'd like to extend a personal thanks to you for your support in the logistics area. As we speak, there are Soldiers down-loading at Bremerhaven [Germany] for Defender Europe 20 at this very moment. I'm concerned about the bandwidth to be able to accept this large force. And, I'm also concerned about road and rail from the center portion of Germany to the east, all the way to the eastern border. Because we have the appropriate resources, we now possess a white team capability to examine our speed of move from east to west, correction, from west to east. And, we also have enough white cell individuals to assess how safely we get stuff through Bremerhaven and to the next point. Bandwidth with respect to size and speed are my greatest concerns.

**Senator Marsha Blackburn (R-TN):** I know you all are so happy to see me because I'm the last one. And you'll get to finish up and head off. I want to go back, General Wolters. You told Senator Reed that the Chinese control 10 percent of

the shipping rights in and out of Europe. I'd like for you to expand on that just a little bit, talk about, do you think it's pretty much going to stay at that level? If it's going to increase, the rate of increase? A little bit more insight into what you think this means.

**General Wolters:** The Chinese investment covers 10 percent of European shipping capacity. I would contend that's a whole-of-government, whole-of-nation concern to make sure that Europe has the appropriate equities with respect to shipping capacity.

**Senator Blackburn:** So, you see that as a floor or ceiling?

**General Wolters:** I see that as the conditions that exist on the ground today. And, I think the nations need to understand what that means with respect to their ability to effectively ship what their nation needs for their national interest. And, an education process needs to follow fast.

**Senator Blackburn:** I think we see the need for that education process not only when it comes to infrastructure, but the Belt and Road Initiative, the implications that that may have as we look at 5G and the rollout there. The implications that it has. So, what is NATO going to do to address this? Because it doesn't matter if it is shipping and that infrastructure or building roads and connectors, or 5G with that infrastructure. There is an issue. Being able to communicate with our allies over a Huawei network is a very difficult thing to do. Give me kind of a timeline and the steps that you all are taking to implement an education process.

**General Wolters:** In the NATO political paradigm, there is a growing realization that this is an issue. There will have to be a common understanding at the political level at NATO that this is an issue that NATO should embrace. And, I think, that's the start of success to ensure that the national interest of the 29 nations in NATO are protected with respect to China proliferation. And, we are at that phase. As a military member supporting NATO, it's my job to report the facts, and that's what we're doing.

**Senator Blackburn:** Okay, so who is receptive to this message? The first part of solving a problem is defining a problem. So, you say there is awareness in defining this problem, correct?

**General Wolters:** Correct. The first task is to ensure, of the 29 nations, which ones have concern and which ones still need more of a dialogue done.

**Senator Blackburn:** Out of those 29 nations, who is receptive to this and who are you getting pushback from? Are you at a 50–50 on this? What is the standing there?

**General Wolters:** Senator, I can only speak at the mil-to-mil level, not the political level for the 29 nations. And, I would say that the majority of the nations are incredibly concerned about China proliferation.

## Notes

*The citations in this publication are for informational purposes only. They were not part of the generals' testimony.*

1. The *Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy* is available here: <https://dod.defense.gov/>.
2. The DOD budget request is available at <https://comptroller.defense.gov/>.
3. The US Bureau of Industry and Security “added Huawei Technologies Co., Ltd. (Huawei) and many of its non-U.S. affiliates to the Entity List effective May 16, 2019 on the basis of information that provided a reasonable basis to conclude that Huawei is engaged in activities that are contrary to U.S. national security or foreign policy interests and its non-U.S. affiliates pose a significant risk of involvement in activities contrary to the national security of the United States. This information included the activities alleged in the Department of Justice’s public Superseding Indictment of Huawei, including alleged violations of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA), conspiracy to violate IEEPA by providing prohibited financial services to Iran, and obstruction of justice in connection with the investigation of those alleged violations of U.S. sanctions. Effective August 19, 2019, BIS added another 46 non-U.S. affiliates of Huawei to the Entity List because they also pose a significant risk of involvement in activities contrary to the national security or foreign policy interests of the United States.” *See* “Huawei Entity List and Temporary General License Frequently Asked Questions (FAQs),” 18 February 2020, <https://www.bis.doc.gov/>.
4. From the US Mission to the OSCE website:

The Senate confirmed James S. “Jim” Gilmore III as U.S. Ambassador to the Organization for Security and Cooperation on May 23, 2019. He was sworn in as Ambassador on June 25, 2019. Gilmore was the 68th Governor of Virginia (1998-2002). He grew up in Richmond, Virginia and in 1971, he enlisted as a volunteer in the U.S. Army after college and worked as a counter-intelligence agent in then-West Germany after intensive language training in German, in which he became fluent. In 1974, Gilmore was awarded the Joint Service Commendation Medal for Service to NATO. After serving his country and receiving his law degree, Gilmore was elected as chief prosecutor for Henrico County and then Attorney General of Virginia in 1993. In 2003, Gilmore served as chairman of the Air Force Academy Board of Visitors. He was the chairman of the Republican National Committee from 2001 to 2002. Gilmore graduated from the University of Virginia (UVA) and earned a B.A. degree in International Relations, Russian Area Studies. He then earned his law degree at the UVA School of Law.

As Governor, he led extensive work in economic development including trade missions to the United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany, Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Gilmore has also traveled to Israel, Pakistan, Croatia, Austria, Czech Republic, Australia, and Peru. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a frequent participant in the Center for the National Interest, and has lectured at the Potomac Institute on homeland security and terrorism issues.

From 1999 to 2003, Gilmore served as Chairman of the Congressional panel known as the “Gilmore Commission” to assess America’s capabilities to respond to a terrorist attack. He ran for the GOP nomination for president from July 2015 to February 2016. He most recently served as President and CEO of the American Opportunity Foundation, which works to shape the discussions around American society and offer conservative solutions that promise prosperity, national security, and American values. Since leaving office, he has served on eight corporate boards of directors.

5. “Joint Multinational Training Group-Ukraine,” 7th Army Training Command, 2020, <https://www.7atc.army.mil/>.

6. Moira Fagan, “NATO Viewed Favorably across Member States,” 10 February 2020, <https://www.pewresearch.org/>.

7. From the US Embassy & Consulates in Germany website:

Richard A. Grenell is the Acting Director of National Intelligence. He serves concurrently as the US Ambassador to Germany and Special Presidential Envoy for Serbia and Kosovo Peace Negotiations. Ambassador Grenell previously served as spokesman to four ambassadors at the US Mission to the United Nations, and founded the global public affairs consultancy, Capitol Media Partners.

8. ZTE Corporation is a Chinese multinational telecommunications equipment and systems company headquartered in Shenzhen, Guangdong, China. It is one of China’s leading telecom equipment manufacturers. Like the more familiar Huawei, ZTE is currently actively engaged in pursuing 5G opportunities in European markets. The US government has pointed to these companies’ ties to the Chinese government and military apparatus as a security threat to Western intelligence, command-and-control, and private communication systems.

9. Originally developed by the Soviet Union in response to Pres. Ronald Reagan’s Strategic Defense Initiative, the S-400 Triumph (SA-21 Growler) is a system of medium- and long-range air defense, capable of destroying modern air weaponry. The system is among the cornerstones of Russia’s international arms sells ventures. The system is capable of targeting three dozen targets at a range of 150 kilometers. Much to the chagrin of the United States, Turkey agreed to purchase the S-400 system in 2019, further escalating tensions between Ankara and Washington.

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